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# ON REGIONALISM IN CHINA*

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In dealing with Europe we make comparisons between "the European" and "the American," but we know that neither reference is very accurate, and we prefer to compare "the Englishman," "the Scandanavian," or "the southern Italian," to something else. We often feel that others do us less than justice when they lump all the inhabitants of Canada and the United States into one generalized term "the American." Our own regional diversities are not yet very clear and clean cut, but the distinctions of regional or sectional parts of our country range from the funny paper to serious political issues. Perhaps in another five hundred years certain of these still vague regionalisms will have developed into rather clear patterns in our country, for they are matters of slow growth and crystallization.

However careful we are in reference to Europe or our own country, we go right on making certain other generalizations. China is one of the great units of the earth most sinned against in this respect. Granted that it is not a whole, detached, continental block in itself, even tho it is about as large as what we call Europe. Granted that, in a sense, it is one political and one culture pattern. So is the United States. Granted that "the Chinese" form a convenient unit for reference in many respects. We know less about China than about Europe, and the broad generalization comes more easily. Even less well than with our own country does the single

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generalization fit the nearly four million square miles and nearly five hundred million people of China, who have had a long period of time during which to develop different kinds of regionalisms into fairly signficant patterns. This article proposes to review some of the more obvious Chinese regionalisms, and to make some tentative observations about regionalism as such in China.

## VARIATIONS IN DIET

"Do you really like Chinese food?" is a question the writer has been asked many times, there frequently being a hesitant and uncertain inflection in the voice of the questioner. The answer usually is something on the order of "Yes I do, but I prefer northern food to southern food." From which point there sometimes ensues a long discussion about Chinese diet. The problem can best be made real by supposing that a Chinese, in China, knowing little about the United States, were fed a "New England Boiled Dinner" and told "That is American food." One could ask whether the New England dish is any more a national average of diet than a "southern fried chicken," a "California fruit bowl," Friday's "Fish and chips," or "Boston baked beans and brown bread." The Chinese food served in restaurants in the United States almost always is "Cantonese food" from southeastern China and bears slight resemblance to the average menu from north or northwestern China. There are half a dozen regional Chinese diets as clearly distinguished from each other as the "New England boiled dinner" and the Louisiana "southern dinner."

Regional specialty in diet is one of the most marked of the Chinese regionalisms, one of the easiest to describe and to account for. The writer, as part of a group, often has been confronted with the question "Shall we eat Canton or Peking food today?" In any large city, anywhere in China, one easily can find restaurants that specialize in the domestic cookery of a number of widely separated localities. And in these restaurants one finds cooks who know the tricks of seasoning, of menu composition, of handling the foods that are produced in the separate geographic regions of China. Sometimes these items are actually imported from the several regions, while at other times they are local products dressed up in a particular manner. A rare product may appear in the cookery of the several regions and taste about the same in all menus. Even so, there is a very real difference in these separate meals. Cantonese

cooking, from southernmost China, makes frequent use of sea products, a wide variety of green vegetables in soups, often serves fowl in soups or with considerable liquid, employs rice and eggs in several ways but uses less beef or pork. Noodles usually appear as a crisped, fried variety in minor proportions. Bread products appear but rarely, pastries are usually light and small, and fruits enter the menu frequently. The actual number of items employed in the menu, from time to time, is probably greater in Cantonese cooking than elsewhere in China, altho not all the foods mentioned above are served at one meal.

Tientsin cooking, from coastal north China, builds its menu around wheat noodles enriched with eggs, served boiled with a small amount of a simple soup. The ordinary menu is chosen from the following items, a few for any one meal. Beef or pork is used as often as it can be afforded, with a limited range of vegetables, but little fruit and that only in season, bread products in a variety of forms, fowl in various baked and roasted forms, considerable bean curd, relatively few fish and rather few methods of preparing them. The menu usually has but one kind of soup, and food is much drier than in Cantonese cooking. Sweet pastries are common, but in a drier, heavier, simpler range than in the south. Flavorings are less complex, less varied in number, but not less satisfying. Garlic is almost omnipresent. Rice appears but rarely, special family events or seasonal festivals being the normal occasions.

In a sense Tientsin and Canton represent two major poles in the distribution of Chinese cookery habits. The Yangtze Valley provinces represent a cross between north and south, with local twists of their own. Hunan and Szechwan, along with the highland southwest, add to almost all dishes pepper in green, red, black, dried, ground, paste and other forms in quantities so great as to bring tears and indigestion to the natives of Shanghai and the east coast generally. Fish is rare and poorly prepared in the west and southwest, goat meat frequently is employed as would be beef in the north, pork and chicken each are so expertly handled in Yunnan and Kweichow as to be famous all over China. The central Yangtze Valley is known for its light egg cakes, cookies and pastries, and uses fresh water fish in variety and volume. The east coast, around Shanghai, uses much salt water and fresh water fish, a wide variety of green vegetables, a large amount of vinegar in seasonings, and combines menu patterns of both north and south China. Fukien,

the coastal strip between Shanghai and Canton, has its own special, and slightly exotic, manner of combining sea products with other commodities to produce many famous dishes known all over China. Its flavorings are perhaps the fanciest of all regional diets. Northwest China, on the other hand, combines melons and various of the fruits, both fresh and dried, with the staple wheat products into a diet pattern quite dissimilar to that of many other parts of China. There are further distinctions one could make in basic menu patterns and in particular food products. What is called "Peking duck" is served in "northern" restaurants all over China and is a tribute to a particular manner of preparing and eating roast duck, thin wheat cakes, fresh raw onions and a rich brown sauce; nevertheless the highest quality dish will be found in northeastern China. In the same way "Yunnan ham" is more recently achieving a country-wide acknowledgement. What goes under the term "birds' nest soup" from Fukien is a third illustration. There are a good many more such examples, tho some are known less widely than the above.

In effect the regional diets of China fundamentally reflect the regional contrasts in agriculture, for there is much less mass transportation of agricultural products from one region to another than is true of the United States. There is no wheat-meat belt that feeds great industrial cities of another belt. There is infinite local specialization of auxiliary food commodities, but almost everywhere China's regions must feed themselves. With certain exceptions inter-regional trade in food products is limited to a few commodities which only the upper classes can afford to buy often and which the rank and file eats as seasonally as the average American family eats a whole turkey. Rice is a staple of diet in south China because it is the dominant crop. Varied subtropical fruits are climatically at home here and frequently enter the south China diet. Rice and wheat mix in the diet of the Yangtze Valley where winter wheat and summer rice combine in the crop pattern. Wheat becomes dominant in the north as a crop and as a diet staple where the soil is too porous and the water supply too scant for rice. Beef and melons in the north and northwest, goat meat in the west, fish products in the east and south go with a varying landscape, as do many of the rest of the regional products used for food. Not quite so easily accountable is the proverb that says "In food the north is salt, the south is sweet, the east is sour and the west is hot," but in it one

can read some of the variations suggested above. Some of the differences in today's diet may seem somewhat abstruse developments, but regardless of their origins they are clear differentiations in the apparent unanimity of Chinese culture. One could add to this variety the regional distinctions in beverages consumed. Both in tea and in alcoholic stimulants there is considerable regional preference and regional reputation. It has been popular to describe the Chinese as small users of alcoholic beverages, whereas in truth they long have had highly developed specialties and regional types. The rice wine of south and east China finds its most famous type sample made in the city of Shao Hsing, not far south of Shanghai. Orange wines are a specialty of Szechwan, mulberry wine of Yunnan, and the small north Kweichow town of Mao Tai is the type city for a fiery brand of drink distilled from grain. Most north China drinks are derived from kaoliang, a tall member of the sorghum family. In the teas there are too many specializations to be enumerated in short space, but for their own use the Chinese have developed a great many regional tea blendings.

Since food and drink is of fundamental concern to the Chinese, they are very sensitive to particular regional patterns, and are fond of varying their diet and of combining into one special meal some of the famous dishes from various parts of China. Without being highly scientific about it the Chinese themselves recognize a strong degree of regional specialty in their food economy. They have consciously and zealously fostered this kind of differentiation, and have many proverbs and sayings about food. Every educated Chinese housewife knows how to produce a great many of the famous regional dishes from other parts of China. Naturally, not all the population can constantly indulge this liking for a rich and varied table, but even the poorer ranks of society celebrate occasionally. The varying quality of a given dish in this or that part of China is a frequent topic of discussion among well to do and well travelled Chinese, whose conversational tendencies about food leave the average American visitor to China with a completely lost feeling.

### DIFFERENCES IN PHYSIQUE AND CLOTHING

"The Chinese" are by no means one uniform physical type. Completely satisfactory data are lacking, but without going to the limits of the physical anthropologist one can distinguish certain

broad generalities in Chinese physical types. Lightness of build, small bones, shortness of stature and light skin pigmentation all go with southeastern China where particularly the women incline to slight, slim figures. Wavy hair and occasional non-Mongoloid lips and noses reveal some southern blood. The so-called "non-Chinese tribes" of southwest China are a very different people, short but chunky, heavy boned, medium dark in skin coloring. The Szechwanese are a little larger all round, trending toward heavier weights, with rather shapeless torsos but well developed legs. Medium build and medium skin textures go with the people of the lower Yangtze Valley and the Shanghai area, where smoothly proportioned, shapely figures and smooth facial features for both men and women are more common than in west or southwest China. Tallness of stature, largeness of bony structure, general bodily bulk, dark skin texture and flatness of face seem to be attributes of north China. In general body hair is rather scant among all Chinese, but the Moslem element which centers in northwest China shows a frequent growth of heavy beard, among other non-Mongoloid features. Not enough is known about the physical anthropology of the Chinese to draw many final conclusions. The Chinese are a composite people, made up of a number of mixtures, and, while they today are quite homogeneous in one sense, there is considerable variety among them.

Not only in appearance are the Chinese different physically. In temperament and disposition there is considerable variety. In general the northerner is slow, conservative and phlegmatic in contrast to the restless, nervous, excitable individual of southernmost China. The "non-Chinese tribes" of the southwest are a happy, light natured folk among themselves, but often exhibit a surly and sullen side of their nature to outsiders. The Szechwanese occupy, perhaps, a median position in temperament but add a canny and shrewd individualism that makes the average Szechwanese fairly recognizable in any group of Chinese. There are many regional aphorisms current in China about physical types, ranging from the character-comment on the "Shansi banker" type of north China to the axiom about the beautiful women of the Soochow district of southern Kiangsu in the lower Yangtze Valley. Some of these physical and temperamental characteristics are undoubtedly stimulated by long range factors of mode of life, dress, sun exposure, regional malnutrition and so on, but others certainly stem from the con-

siderable racial mixture of the modern Chinese, and to some extent indicate regional patterns of that mixing process.

Differences in dress among the Chinese proper are today much more a matter of climatic variation and economic status than of inherently different culture patterns. In the winter the north of China is bulkily dressed in padded garments several layers deep. The poor use cotton quilting, sewn between layers of cotton cloth, while the well to do use either fur-lined garments or silk floss lined clothing. Fur lined caps, heavier boots and shoes, when they can be afforded, help keep north China people warm during long cold winters. In summer unlined cotton is the usual clothing of the poor, silk of the wealthy. The hot summers of the Yangtze Valley bring in grass cloth and oiled silk or cotton of a porous weave. The cool winters of the central and lower Yangtze Valley provoke considerable lined clothing when it can be afforded. Cotton cloth shoes are much more universally worn in the central and southern parts of China than in the north. Lack of headgear, the use of fans, and other minor distinctions are notable in central and south China. A highly developed specialty is the rain hat, a local handicraft product which shows tremendous variation in size, shape, color and nature of construction. The cut of clothing is today pretty generally the same the country over among the Chinese. Before the introduction of European aniline dyes during the nineteenth century browns were perhaps the most frequently used colors. With standard and cheap dyes China became "the land of the blue gown," but the general use of white clothing is much more common in south China than in the north, where less good water supplies makes it hard to keep cloth white in color. The "non-Chinese tribes" of southwest China have a wealth of difference in dress patterns. For the most part the women wear pleated skirts, brightly embroidered jackets, elaborate headdresses and considerable jewelry, tho the men wear, today, Chinese clothes except upon ceremonial occasions. Tribal culture patterns determine regional differences. Originally the turban may have come into northwest China along with the first Moslems. Whatever its origin it is noticeably common today in Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan and Hsikang, as well as in northwest China, and no longer is it a mark of the Moslem religion.

Differences in language among the Chinese are well known, but frequently thought to be much greater than they really are. The coastal strip from Shanghai southward to Canton is a zone of great

complication in language, with many separate and mutually unintelligible languages and dialects. Elsewhere, among the Chinese, there are but regional idioms of one main language. To one who speaks Chinese well there is no basic problem of speech with these local idioms, tho the fine inflections of sound and the fine points of humor may escape one until familiarity with the local idiom is achieved. Some of these differences in idiom are purely local matters, while others are on a broader regional or provincial basis. The languages of the "non-Chinese tribes" of the southwest differ markedly from the Chinese; some of them are interrelated and some are isolated remnant tongues from an earlier day in history.

### Topographic Differences

Regional differences in the landscape are manifold. Variation in land forms as such need not concern us here, tho the pattern of landform regions is certainly at the base of many of the present regionalisms. One of the contrasts frequently noted between north and south is the wideness of the streets in the north and the narrowness in the south. Less commonly is it pointed out that north China had relatively few stone paved roads in the pre-automobile era, the wheeled carts having to struggle with dust or mud according to the weather or season. From the Yangtze Valley southward it was customary in the earlier periods for most of the main roads and paths to be stone surfaced. The hilly landscape combined with the wet climate enforced surfacing; most of these roads and paths were full of steps so that wheeled vehicles but rarely could be used. The introduction of automobiles and the rebuilding of the main roads has not changed the nature of lesser roads and paths, which preserve the old contrasts. Related to roads is the variable form of transport. The big, springless, two-wheeled cart of the north is unknown in the terraced rice landscape of the Yangtze Valley. The small, two-wheeled cart of some of the high basins of Yunnan is a purely local type. In Szechwan any kind of wheeled vehicles were rare until the modern motor road was built, the human carrier with his shoulder pole being the ubiquitous beast of burden. The Yunnanese look down upon the Szechwanese carrier and use long pack trains of small but sturdy ponies instead. The wheelbarrow with a sail, and the camel, are at home in the open, arid and windy north of China. The thousands of miles of canals in the Yangtze delta, by contrast, make small boats the common carrier. Motor

roads are changing the patterns of transport, but coolie-pulled carts on the new roads are too numerous to allow any chance idea that motor trucks will replace all other forms of transport. Some old regional patterns are being upset, but some new ones are forming. The rubber tired, two wheeled pony taxi of Yunnan's capital city has spread to several other cities already, but will not go all over China.

A contrast between north and south not often pointed out is the variation in grave mounds. In north China graves frequently are simple earth mounds distributed over the field and flat crop land. Where rice becomes the main summer crop the graves are scattered over the non-irrigated lands. In the mountainous districts of the southwest, where any kind of farm land today is at a premium, graves are largely restricted to the rougher hill lands. The simple earth mounds of north China seldom have more than a small and simple head stone and rarely show a retaining wall to preserve the mound. Eventually such mounds disappear back into the cultivated crop land. In the rainier Yangtze Valley and southward the use of stone around the mound is very common. Sometimes it is a simple circle of stone around the lower half of the mound. More often it is a horseshoe shaped ring of stone or lime cement circling the mound on the uphill side and serving as a protection from erosion. Well to do families in north China sometimes erect larger mounds and provide a little more stone, but in south China they often build imposing, protected mounds, with a flat space in front, surfaced with stone and fitted with stone seats and a table for the seasonal festival picnics paying tribute to the ancestors. Fukien and Szechwan perhaps build the most imposing grave mounds. Anywhere in southern China the bunched thousands of graves covering the uncultivable hills around a large city make a very strong impression upon a visitor, but a very different impression than the one produced by the broadcast graves of the North China Plain.

There is a contrast in the frequency, style and attractiveness of the wayside shrine which is partly related to the landscape. In much of north China building stone is relatively scarce. The shrines are mud huts for the most part. In Szechwan, on the other hand, they normally are built of durable sandstone, blend into the landscape beautifully, are well placed and very frequent, and seem to be rather formal in type. This leads to the subject of architecture, in which only a few regional distinctions can be pointed out in the

short space available. The flat roofed and adobe brick or wattled mud houses of northwest China present a dull yellow-brown appearance not often relieved by color finishes. Even when a gray tile roof is used as in northeast China there is no color added to the landscape. The stone houses that predominate in certain areas and the loessland cave dwelling add regional variety but little color to domestic architecture. South China uses a great deal of whitewash as an outside finish, and frequently further dresses up buildings with colored murals. The regional patterns of Chinese architecture have not yet been studied adequately, but in the flat roof of the northwest, the curved roof of the south, the panelled plaster and timber houses of Szechwan, the combination men-and-animals caravanserai of the northwest and the long, narrow inn of Szechwan and Kweichow, with its cell-like rooms, all indicate that in architecture, also, there is a very considerable regional complexity.

## Political and Social Regionalism

Chinese history, earlier and contemporary, is full of expressions of regionalism. In our society many of these expressions go under the term "provincialism." The Yunnanese today, be they Chinese or non-Chinese tribesmen, react similarly to Shanghai Chinese, and victimize them as unknown outsiders. The Szechwanese today are mostly Chinese, having rather fully assimilated those tribes who did not emigrate during Chinese colonial expansion, but there are no greater individualists in the Chinese cultural family. The "warlordism" of the last three decades of Chinese history, viewed from the standpoint of national politics and government, has been a period of ineffective centralization and inability to weld all China into one cohesive political state. Viewed from another point of view "warlordism" has been the persistence of political regionalism. It is conventional to say that the "warlord" exploited a province or a region. Sometimes it would have been more realistic to say that the "warlord" was but the effective agent spearheading a regional separatism that was supported by the populace. Within the last four decades of Chinese history there has been applied almost every conceivable combination of regions, sections and provinces. Until the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937 the lower Yangtze Valley had been the key seat of political and economic power of modern China. The Japanese had been playing upon the regional separatism of the north to more easily com-

plete their encroachment. Various southern and western "warlords" capitalized upon the several provincial separatisms, sometimes as revolutions, other times thru passive nonparticipation in some program of the Chinese Central Government located in eastern China.

The Chinese show a degree of clannishness in their mutual dealings that constantly amazes Americans, tho we have a little of the same tendency upon occasion. A northerner dealing with another northerner, in Shanghai let us say, will get a much better deal than could be had from a Cantonese. Better still if the two come from the same northern province, and perfection if they hail from the same district. In economic, social, political, military, psychological matters this clannish fraternity brother spirit pervades all Chinese group contact. Fellow provincials gather around their outstanding men, and men in power collect staffs from their own provinces and districts. Rivalries develop between factions on the basis of different home provinces, and national leaders seldom escape their regional brands. This particular kind of regionalism is a vital factor in Chinese affairs, far more so than is commonly recognized by the Occident. This factor alone is frequently at the root of some of the political and social happenings that perplex outside observers.

## REGIONALISM AND CONTEMPORARY CHINA

There is not yet enough data available to support a definitive statement as to just how all the separate expressions combine to produce exactly what clearly differentiated regions of modern China. There is no question raised here about the essential unity of Chinese culture in the largest application of that term. Chinese culture is not a tightly homogenous matter; it is rather a series of similar patterns, interlocking and overlapping while containing unique items in many of the separate patterns. The similarities, the interlocking, and the overlapping have made Chinese culture seem homogeneous from the outside, and have made it hang together as a live culture longer than that of any other country. The looseness of the interlocking, the existence of unique features and the very multiplicity of regional patterns of culture have meant that thruout Chinese history there have been forces of separatism and division at work in China. These forces often have broken China apart into a variable series of semi-independent regions, sections and provinces. The recent development of political nationalism served to

hold the many Chinese regions and factions together during the Sino-Japanese War, to the surprise of the world. Now that the war with Japan is over these internal forces are relatively more important than during the struggle, and provoke dissensions of many kinds in many places. Much of this has no regional pattern at the moment, tho much of it has an underlying regional force. The famine sufferings of one province are not of sufficient concern to the people of another province that they go much out of their normal way to promote the good of all. The political separatism of one area is put ahead of the political unity of all China. The effort to re-grasp political and economic power by the lower Yangtze Valley region and people fails to consider the long term and short term concerns of other regions and groups.

It is not easy to delineate the regions of China, for many criteria exist and many different kinds of regions can be described. There are Chinese proverbs that will illustrate this. "In Kweichow no three paving stones are on the same level, no three days are sunny, and no man has three coppers to click together" and "In Heaven there is the nine-headed dragon, and on earth there is the man of Hupeh." No clear regional limits are thought of in these folk-sayings, yet to the Chinese the general concepts are clear enough. Kweichow is hilly, cloudy much of the year and the poorest province of China, but the lines of landform, climatic and economic regions do not coincide. The native of Hupeh closely resembles the Hunanese or the man from Kiangsi, yet there is a subtle distinction of personality that can be sensed tho it cannot be put down on a map.

For geographers there commonly are soil regions, crop regions, physical regions, climatic regions, political regions and many others. The culture geographer can make various combinations of regions according to his mood. He can pick out certain territories that seem always to stand out in the delineation regardless of just how the criteria are stacked. Central Szechwan, at least the Red Basin, is such a territory. In contemporary economic, political and social matters the area around the Yangtze River delta—southern Kiangsu, southern Anhwei, northern Kiangsi and northern Chekiang——seems to hang together. Certainly it has been the seat of power in the last two decades, but it is not a clear unit in terms of the average geographical criteria. Fukien, at least eastern seaboard Fukien, is a region in many intangible respects, with

a good many tangible criteria lending support. In a country such as China one can pick out a number of positive zones separated by hill country that seems quite negative in its expression but which must be placed on one side or the other when lines are drawn on paper. The insistence upon drawing those lines can lead to some very fallacious conclusions.

The political boundaries of the twenty-four provinces of present China proper, discounting Manchuria, Turkestan and Tibet, are the long term crystallization of regional criteria. Some lines are better than others, some are older than others, some seem natural lines suggested by the environment, while others clearly have been enforced by man against all odds. There is considerable negative area thrown in around a number of positive cores, like the hill lands surrounding the "rice bowl" lowland of the province of Hunan, or the hilly margins around the Red Basin of Szechwan. Regionalisms are seldom static, for new forces and new situations continually alter the patterns of areas populated by mankind. Any list of regions, any set of boundaries, any group of criteria, for the delineation of regions are both an arbitrary and a temporary characterization. The political boundaries of China proper are not the simplest set of lines delineating regions of present day China, but they can be as meaningful as any other set of lines that can be drawn. Partly this is because those political lines are the result of a very long period of political, economic, social and military administration, which has successively refined the problems of regions until the majority of lines are drawn thru the most negative areas to encircle the most positive areas. Partly it is because Chinese society has itself fostered regionalism of many sorts and has done it, roughly and intangibly, along the very limits it came to place in its landscape. Naturally present political boundaries reflect the past; it may well be that in the day of the radio, the motor truck and the aeroplane, the political party, the national school system and industrialization, there will be some shifts forthcoming in political boundary lines.

Going beyond provincial limits one can identify "sections" of the country. Such divisions are about as useful, and to China as meaningful, as the terms "New England," "the South," and "the Far West," are in American usage. North China really contains two sectional units, the Northeast and the Northwest. The Yangtze Valley provinces divide into three parts, East China, Central

China and Szechwan. South China also contains three units, Fukien, Canton and its hinterland, and the Southwest,

In spite of the very effective force of provincial regionalisms it is likely that, once the present group of internal problems is solved sufficiently to allow China to operate as one piece again, future forces will tend to operate as sectionalisms, as they do in the United States and Canada, rather than as the multiple single regions of the past. Modern methods of transportation communication, public expression, education and political operation will tend to play down the elements making for full regional distinguishment. It is conceivable, of course, that some permanent breaks might occur. It is futile to expect complete and total unity in China. Regionalism in some form or other will continue to express itself in an area as large, as diverse and as heavily populated as China. If political unity can remain and if the regionalisms can be confined to, and expressed as, healthy sectionalism China can benefit materially therefrom. Too strong expression of regionalism can only provoke troublesome dissension.

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## GEOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF UNITED STATES–ARGENTINE RELATIONS*

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For a good many years the United States has had more friction with Argentina than with any other country in South America; and most authorities agree that this River Plate country has become the weakest link in the chain of Western Hemisphere Good Neighbors. A long list of conditions are responsible for this situation, prominent among which are problems of language, culture, history and geography. Obviously the geographer is most interested in the last named problem, and an attempt will be made in the following paragraphs to show how geography has encouraged ill-feeling between the two countries.

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As a first step in the study it may be wise to describe briefly the geography of Argentina. From Argentina's most northern extension, along the Bolivian frontier, approximately 22° South, or about the latitude of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to Ushuaia, Argentina, the world's most southerly settlement, located along the Beagle Channel at about 55° South, is a distance of 2300 miles. The country's north-south extent may be compared to the mileage between the southern portion of Hudson Bay in Canada and Havana, Cuba. Approximately 900 miles divide the eastern shore of Argentina from the Chilean border at the widest part of the country, but most east-west dimensions are narrower. In fact, the slight width of Argentina brings to mind one of the most dominant facts about South American geography—the fact that South America tapers into the temperates in contrast to North America which tapers into the tropics.

Within its borders Argentina includes over a million square miles, an area only one-third that of the United States, but larger than Britain, France, pre-war Germany, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Yugo-Slavia and Denmark put together. Argentina has only about one-tenth as many people as the United States, fourteen million, with a population density of fourteen per square mile compared with the United States figure of forty-seven per square mile. Ninety-seven per cent of the population is white, approximately three per cent Indian and there are probably fewer Negroes than are found in Sweden.

Argentina considers itself the "A" country of South America and Alejandro Bunge gives the following statistics to defend that position. In 1936 Argentina accounted for 54 per cent of South America's rail mileage, 50 per cent of the telephones, 55 per cent of the motor cars and trucks, 57 per cent of the rail passengers, 60 per cent of the freight carried by railroads, 60 per cent of the letters sent, 61 per cent of the telegrams, 55 per cent of the newsprint consumed, 50 per cent of the petroleum used, 43 per cent of the total foreign trade, and 57 per cent of the total spent for education. The 1936 situation has changed somewhat, as other countries move ahead, but only to a minor degree.

Argentina can be divided into regions showing considerable resemblance to sections in the United States. The Northwestern Mountain and Plateau Region might be compared to southwestern United States; Argentine Mesopotamia and other parts of the

northeast to southeastern United States; Patagonia and the bordering mountains to the cooler drier portions of the United States Great Plains and Rockies adjoining; and the great Argentine Pampa to the United States Corn Belt and the wheat regions.

The Pampa, an Indian word signifying a flat country, lies within a half circle inscribed from Buenos Aires as the center and extends approximately three hundred miles north, west and south. It contains three-fourths of the people and contributes seventy-five per cent of the nation's production. Here are the chief cities, the great-

Fig. 1. Trojes de maíz or native corn cribs in Argentina. (Courtesy of Ministerio de Agricultura de la Nación-Dirección de Propaganda y Publicaciones, Argentina.)

est industries, the bulk of the livestock and the largest acreage of grain.

This rich agricultural region is located just about as far south of the Equator as the Corn Belt lies north of it. Similarity in geographic location largely accounts for a general similarity in climate, soils, natural vegetation, and most important of all as related to United States-Argentine relations, similarity in agricultural production. The Pampa produces corn—(Figure 1) the Corn Belt produces corn; the Pampa produces wheat—(Figure 2) the Corn Belt produces wheat, altho most of the wheat is grown in Spring and Winter Wheat Belts lying in approximately the same latitudes as those of the Corn Belt; the Pampa produces beef—(Figure 3) the Corn Belt produces beef. And the Pampa produces all three

major commodities so that they can sell at lower prices. Argentine corn and meat compete but little with United States production on the world market, for the United States consumes practically all it produces. But since costs of production are high, tariff walls are raised against Argentine corn, wheat, meat and other products to protect United States producers at the expense of consumers and at the expense of Argentina, who, in pre-war years, wanted to dis-

Fig. 2. Experiment station plot of wheat in Pergamino. (Courtesy of Ministerio de Agricultura de la Nación-Dirección de Propaganda y Publicaciones, Argentina.)

pose of great agricultural surpluses on high United States markets. Remember, the main-spring of Argentina's national economy has been based on the export of products from its farms, and when tariff walls like the Smoot-Hawley Tariff are raised, the ground work for international friction arises. In so far as meat is concerned, United States producers not only hide behind tariff walls to keep out Argentine beef, mutton and pork, but hide behind so-called sanitary walls as well.

## ARGENTINE BEEF

One of the greatest sources of friction between the United States and Argentina has risen from a refusal to buy freely of Argentine meat. To illustrate the Argentine feeling, John W. White, in his

excellent book, *Argentina, the Life Story of a Nation* states that when "Tony Muto of Movietone News, took a camera crew into Argentina after the Pan-American Conference at Lima to make some news reels of Argentina and give the country some of the favorable publicity it is always complaining that it does not get in the United States, he encountered the meat phobia among the customs officials at the airport when he arrived at Buenos Aires. Tony had a free-entry permit for all his photographic equipment, but the customs authorities seized his portable typewriter and insisted that

Fig. 3. Herd of Herefords at town of Pereyra, Province of Buenos Aires. (Courtesy of Ministerio de Agricultura de la Nación, Dirección de Propaganda y Publicaciones, Argentina.)

he pay duty on it or leave it in their possession until he left the country. Tony explained that the typewriter was just as much a part of his working equipment as the movie camera, but the customs men were adamant. Finally, after much argument, the chief customs officer puffed up red as a turkey-gobbler and burst out, 'You won't buy our meat. Why shouldn't you pay duty on your typewriter?' And to all the other Argentines within hearing that was a perfectly logical argument for an Argentine official to make."

The Argentines do more chest thumping about their beef steaks and are prouder of the quality of their cattle than of most anything else they produce. Altho meat has not always ranked first in export, most Argentines have considered cattle raising their number one industry. It is one of the best organized industries and its owners are important in government positions and belong to the socially

elite. The opening of the blue ribbon cattle show at Palermo Park, a show that is one of the best barometers of Argentine economy, is watched as such by every newspaper correspondent. Moreover, it brings out more top hats than the opening of the opera season. Argentines consider their beef the best in the world. Ex-president F. D. Roosevelt is said to have agreed with them and offended United States cattle men by making a statement to that effect. It's easy to agree with Mr. Roosevelt after eating one of the thick perfectly-cooked steaks in La Cabana, a restaurant specializing in fine meats in Buenos Aires. And yet, in spite of all this, the United States has consistently refused to allow Argentine meat to enter the United States in any significant quantity.

Why not buy Argentine beef? The reason given by American cattlemen is that Argentine beef is affected by the foot and mouth disease, a dangerous animal malady. The Argentines say the real reason is that American cattle-raisers are afraid of Argentine competition and simply hide behind the foot and mouth disease scare as an excuse.

Foot and mouth disease is an acute, highly communicable disease chiefly confined to cloven-footed animals and characterized by symptoms including blisters on the mucous membrane of the mouth and on the skin between the toes and above the hoofs. Altho mortality from the disease is not generally as high as in the case of some other animal infections, a malignant form may cause high death rate, especially in young animals. Even when mortality is low, the effect upon herds is serious and this together with a tendency to spread rapidly, makes it a disease to be feared. It has been known for centuries and has existed for long periods in many countries.

Outbreaks have occurred within the United States in 1870, 1880, 1884, 1902, 1908, 1914, 1915, 1924, 1925 and in 1929. Altho quarantine control is followed in several countries to stop the disease, the United States has the policy of slaughtering all infected animals and those suspected of infection. The 1914-1915 outbreak was one of the worst and 172,000 animals were killed with a total expense of nearly $9,000,000. In this country the Federal government stands half the loss and the states the other half.

Argentine cattle men would object but little to a quarantine against cattle or fresh and frozen meat coming from parts of Argentina where the disease is endemic. But they do object seriously

to a blanket quarantine against the whole country. They say that Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego are not affected by the disease. Much evidence gathered by United States field men examining these territories supports the Argentine claim. In further defense of their stand against a nation-wide embargo, the Argentines point to the diplomatic fight some years ago against Spain, Belgium, France, Germany and other European countries desiring to keep out all meat from the United States just because animals in one state were infected. The United States finally gained their demands in this case, and Argentina thinks concession of similar privileges should be made by the United States. Ex-secretary of State Hull agrees with the Argentines on this point even tho he has fought them on other diplomatic policies.

In 1935 a convention was held between the United States and Argentina, a meeting known as the Sanitary Convention. Certain principles were agreed upon at this conference to permit Patagonian meat shipments to enter the United States. To make these rules effective, however, the findings of the Convention had to be ratified by the United States Senate. Argentines assert that ex-president F. D. Roosevelt promised Senate ratification. The Senate failed to ratify.

For a while, some time after 1941, it was thought that the ban against Tierra del Fuego meat would be lifted. On the strength of this belief, killing and processing plants were erected and all plans made for the export of mutton, Tierra del Fuego is a mutton region not a beef region. But the ban on Tierra del Fuego shipments was not lifted. This failure is a very tender sore with Argentina. It is said that the United States lifted the ban on certain islands less than a score of miles away from infected England when some selected breeding stock was needed, but refused to permit shipments from Tierra del Fuego, also an island nearly a thousand miles away from the infected Pampa. During the meat famine of 1946, the United States government also lifted the ban against Mexican beef, but closed it after a short period of cattle trade.

Argentines were particularly offended in 1939-40 when the United States government, after inviting them to provide an exhibit at the New York World's Fair, refused to allow the serving or exhibition of Argentine beef in their restaurant. Carlton Beals said that this was similar to inviting a peacock to an exclusive fashion show and then telling him to leave his beautiful tail feathers at home.

In 1939 the Senate attempted to raise the duty on canned meats, already extremely high, and battled against the sale of Argentine canned corn beef to the Navy, altho canned corn beef at that time was not being produced commercially within the United States. Furthermore, the heating, coincident with canning of beef, kills the virus which brings foot and mouth disease infection; so that in this case there is no opportunity to hide behind the foot and mouth disease bogey in barring Argentine meats.

In 1940, Argentina and the United States attempted to agree on a trade treaty covering many items. Before negotiations were well started, many Washington lobbies cried out against any import of dairy products, linseed, corn, oranges, pears, alfalfa, tallow and meat. This is a good example of similarity in production hampering trade. Producers hate to make concessions that may affect their business adversely, even if very slightly; while at the same time such an effect may help consumers and most certainly will improve relations with Argentina.

If the United States would arrange to import Argentine canned meat under a reasonable tariff barrier and permit shipments of frozen meat from sections of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego which even some of our own Department of Agriculture officials have declared free from foot and mouth disease, a great step towards a practical Good Neighbor Policy with Argentina would be made. The United States consumer would surely gain from large shipments in such trade, for it is an established fact that even during normal times a large percentage of the United States population suffers from an insufficient meat diet owing in no small degree to the high price of American beef; and during the war years this situation has been greatly accentuated. In abnormal times like 1946, with cattle selling as high as thirty-six dollars and a half per hundred weight on the hoof in Chicago stockyards, Argentine meat shipments would be especially welcome.

An import of but 2 per cent of United States annual meat consumption—2 per cent made up of canned meat and frozen or chilled meat from Argentine regions known to be free from infection—would take nearly a quarter of Argentina's normal meat export and lay the basis for significant shipments of American goods in exchange.

Some years hence, if there is no adjustment of differences over the meat trade, Argentine beef surpluses will probably cease to cause friction. It is not generally realized that Argentina consumes

locally about three-fourths of its meat production. Its consumption in a recent year was 275 pounds of beef, 17.2 pounds of mutton and 15.2 pounds of pork per capita. With only fourteen million people on a million square miles, Argentina is an underpopulated country. The nation could easily support two or three times the present population. Intensification of agriculture and further industrial development, changes which are likely to come, will encourage population increase. This in turn may expand beef consumption to a point where little surplus is left.

### ARGENTINE WHEAT

Another cause for friction between the United States and Argentina arises from surplus wheat production in both countries. The United States normally produces about three-quarters of a billion bushels, war year production has risen to over a billion bushels, while Argentina produces only about a quarter of a billion bushels. A much larger population in the United States takes care of most of the crop, but a few million bushels surplus often compete with the one-hundred and fifty million bushel Argentine export. A few years ago, government officials were studying ways to keep over production from depressing United States wheat prices and seriously considered dumping wheat on Brazil, Argentina's neighbor to the north, a country which raises little wheat, largely because of tropical location. When Argentina heard of these plans, it protested vigorously and suggested that Brazil's wheat trade be left to it. In the last analysis, similarity between the Argentine Pampa and the United States corn and wheat belts accounts for most of the trouble between the two countries over wheat and meat; and this friction provides a good starting point for differences on many other questions.

### GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Argentina is jealous of Brazil and of the long United States-Brazilian friendship. Looking at the background for that friendship, one can note the influence of Brazil's location, lying much nearer to the United States than does Argentina and almost entirely within the tropics. From Brazil's tropical highlands comes the bulk of United States coffee, a crop which can't be raised in the United States; from Brazil's eastern coast comes an increasing amount of cacao, another product which can't be produced in temperate latitudes; from Brazil's Amazon Basin comes a small sup-

ply of natural rubber, a commodity which can't be grown in United States climates. Also, from Brazil's mineral storehouse comes manganese, chromium, quartz, mica, and other strategic materials so important in recent war years. Is it any wonder that friendship has always been strong between the United States and Brazil?

Another factor behind United States-Brazilian friendship, a friendship which has troubled Argentina, is the location of the Brazilian Bulge with reference to Africa. During the early stages of the European War II, there was fear of a German invasion of the Western Hemisphere by way of French-held Dakar across the narrow waist of the Atlantic to northeast Brazil. To forestall such invasion, air bases on the Brazilian Bulge were requested and received. The invasion never came, but these bases were of great help during the war.

Argentina's location so far away from the United States makes it a far distant neighbor in the Western Hemisphere. Buenos Aires lies 5,838 miles from New York, as far away as San Francisco is from Tientsin, China and farther than it is from Buenos Aires to Lisbon, Portugal. Many students of Argentine-United States relations feel that this great distance accounts for many misunderstandings. Shortly after United States entry in World War II, Argentine spokesmen belittled promises of aid in the event Argentina declared war on the Axis. They said that the United States had more than a full time job to protect its own long coast lines and sea lanes without trying to extend protection to far away Argentina.

Some authorities believe that Argentina's late break with the Axis was to no small degree influenced by its distance from the United States and its nearness to Europe. Chile and Argentina, Latin American countries farthest removed from the United States, were the last to break relations with the Axis, Chile on January 20, 1943 and Argentina on January 26, 1944.

Nearness instead of distance is the geographic factor involved in United States concern about the Argentina attempt to develop a Latin American block of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and possibly Chile. A look at the map shows how near these countries lie to one another. Argentina shares boundaries with the previously named nearby countries.

Argentines remember a map of the vice royalty of La Plata drawn in 1776 for Charles the Third—a map which included Argentina and all or parts of present Bolivia, Uruguay, Paraguay and

Chile. Argentina's influence over Paraguay is already as strong as United States influence over Cuba. With such an economic block, Argentina could get oil that it needs from Bolivia, and possibly from Chile, for oil has recently been discovered in Chilean Tierra del Fuego (Argentina produces only about 60 per cent of its normal petroleum requirements); tin from Bolivia; copper, coal and nitrates from Chile. The Germans saw these trade advantages in their plan for a Latin American split-up in the event their try for world conquest had ended successfully. It was said that Argentina was promised a restoration of boundaries shown on the 1776 map in case of a Germany victory. Argentina is already establishing favorable trade pacts among the nations within these boundaries.

## Summary and Conclusions

Space will not permit further elaboration of geography's influence upon Argentine-United States relations. Enough has been written to show the great significance of geographic location in a study of international problems. Argentina's neighbor Brazil lies much nearer the United States and possesses a location in the tropics which encourages crops complementing temperate latitude production in the United States. These conditions have encouraged the long friendly relations between the two countries. On the other hand, the long distance between Argentina and the United States limits easy and frequent contact. Moreover, location of the two countries in similar latitudes encourages similar production, similar production accounts for trade rivalry, and trade rivalry leads to international friction.

# MAN'S ACTIVITIES IN CEYLON

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" . . . Ceylon's isle, though every prospect pleases, and only man is vile." Thus goes the hymn writer's rather prejudiced view of man's activities in Ceylon. Truely in some places man has scarred the natural beauty of the island.[1] However, in other areas the use that man has made of the land has enhanced its beauty. Where the coconut palms stand in long straight rows, where the damming of a stream makes a picturesque lake or where the terraced paddy fields weave a colorful pattern in a steep sided valley, one is impressed by the man-made beauty of Ceylon. Many different people, coming to the island at different periods and carrying on economic activities which varied with the use they made of the land, have made Ceylon one of the most beautiful and important islands of the world today.

## The People of Ceylon

Ceylon has long been settled by man. Being close to India the island has been subjected to frequent invasions of Indian peoples, driven by the pulsations of population pressure. In Ceylon independent tribes and kingdoms flourished and were then overrun or forced into the isolated hill regions by fresh encroachments. In recent centuries the island's strategic position has been a magnet for European maritime powers. They quarrelled over control and finally the British gained the ascendancy. Today Ceylon is a Crown Colony of the British Empire, but with the promulgation of a new

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[1] An article on "The Land of Ceylon" was published in the Journal of Geography, Volume XLVI, Number 3, 1947, pp. 83-91. That article stressed the beauty of the physical geography of Ceylon. This article complements it by discussing the human geography of the island. Both of these articles have used among other material two excellent geographies prepared for Ceylon's schools: Elsie K. Cook, *A Geography of Ceylon,* Macmillan Company, Madras and London, 1931, and S. F. DeSilva, *The New Geography of Ceylon,* The Colombo Apothecaries Company, Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon, Third Edition, 1943. From April to August, 1944, I was stationed at Headquarters, Southeast Asia Command, Kandy, Ceylon. This gave me an opportunity to see something of the island, tho my work had little to do with Ceylon.

constitution, the island has gone another step toward dominion status in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The dominant group among the six million people are the four million Sinhalese. These people are the descendants of migrants who, some twenty-five hundred years ago, came from India in two streams.[2] They drove primitive tribes, whose coming to Ceylon cannot be traced, into the isolated forests of the southeastern part of the island. Among these tribes were a unique group, the Veddhas, but these people are now virtually extinct. The early Sinhalese cleared the forests and settled on the northern plain of Ceylon. To overcome the handicap of the dry season and the danger of occasional serious drought, tanks or water reservoirs were built. As the population increased and the state of the arts advanced irrigation works on a large scale were constructed. This irrigation agriculture was prosperous, two crops of rice could be grown a year and the region, tho densely populated, exported rice to India. About 247 B.C. Buddhist monks came to Ceylon and shortly thereafter Buddhism was made the state religion. In Ceylon the Buddhist religion has remained quite orthodox thruout the centuries, while it has virtually disappeared from India, its place of origin. Buddhism afforded Ceylon many contacts with the outside world. Beautiful cities and temples were built. Along with Buddhism the Sinhalese kept a modified caste system aimed at keeping a balance between occupational groups.

This relatively rich country, tho often subjected to internal intrigues and rivalries, was envied by the Tamils of southern India, where the population pressure had little outlet. The Tamils started migrating across the narrow straits and settling on the Jaffna peninsula. This limestone area had not been developed by the Sinhalese because of the difficulty of tank irrigation on the relatively infertile soil. However, the diligent Tamils were able to wrest a living from it. Thru this foothold and thru direct invasions the Tamils began to infiltrate into northern Ceylon. The Sinhalese, weakened by civil wars, were pushed into the hill country and their irrigation works, partially destroyed by warfare, deteriorated and did not supply the precious water for crops. Malaria epidemics probably added their toll. Eventually jungle growth took over more

[2] A handy summary of the history of Ceylon is *A Short History of Ceylon* by H. W. Codrington (Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1939). An old but standard work is that of Sir James Emerson Tennant, *Ceylon*, 2 volumes, London, 1860.

and more of the land and buried the noble cities. In the once-prosperous land between the Tamils in the north and the Sinhalese in the southwestern plains and hills a few wandering farmers practiced *chena* cultivation—burning a patch in the forest—planting and harvesting a crop or two of millet and moving on to a new patch where the process was repeated.

As world powers turned toward maritime activities, the island of Ceylon came to their attention. The Chinese sent missions there and in 1411 A.D. took the Sinhalese royal family off to China. The Portugese during the next 150 years developed bases for trade, particularly in cinnamon, along the southwest coast. The Dutch, thru intrigue with the remaining Sinhalese royalty, were able to oust the Portugese. They, in turn, were replaced by the British at the close of the 18th century.[3] The Tamils in the north, clinging to

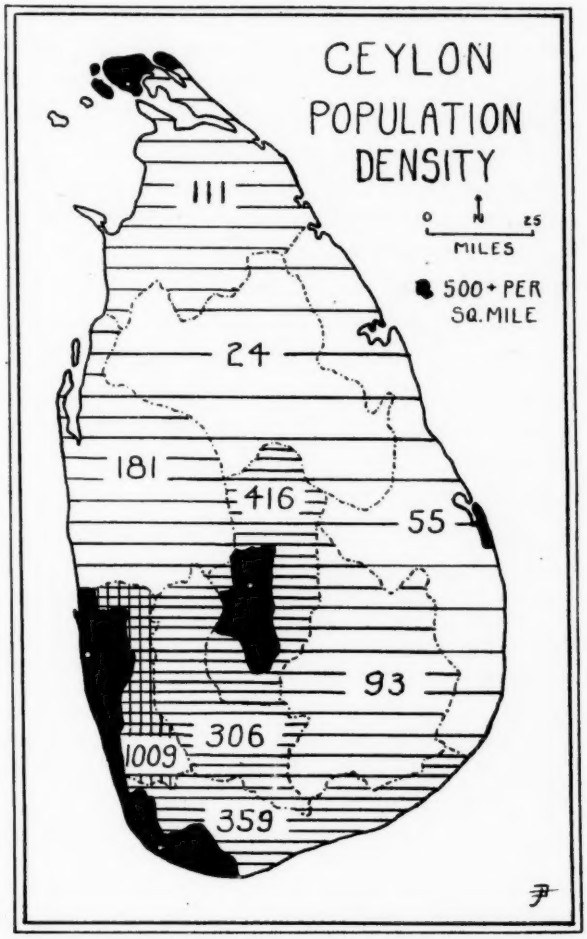


Fig. 1. Population Densities in Ceylon. The 1931 population is given for each province. The population has increased since that time from 5,312,548 to an estimated January 1, 1945 population of 6,384,000. The smaller areas with an estimated population density of over 500 persons per square mile are shown in black. The white circles are for the four major cities: Colombo (1931: 284,155 persons), Jaffna (45,708), Galle (38,424) and Kandy (36,541).

[3] Dr. Lennox A. Mills has made an excellent study of the history and political situation of Ceylon. His *Ceylon Under British Rule, 1795-1932* (Oxford University Press,

their poor lands were not seriously molested by these changes. The Sinhalese, protected in their mountain fastness and with their capital in well-guarded Kandy, were able to maintain an uneasy and isolated independence. The British held the ports and controlled the trade. They developed some plantations in the southwestern part of the island and governed quite a large group of low-country Sinhalese farmers. However, this dual British and Sinhalese control of the island was unsatisfactory to the British so that after building roads into the interior and developing better supply lines, the British finally subdued the Kandyian kings. Tho there was a revolt in 1848, Ceylon for almost 150 years has been completely under the British crown.

The tumultuous history of settlement has resulted in a mixture of racial, ethnic and religious groups in Ceylon. The four million Buddhist Sinhalese are divided between the low country dwellers and the hill folk. The 700,000 agricultural Tamils on the Jaffna peninsula differ quite sharply from the 650,000 migratory Tamil workers which have been brought in to work on the modern plantations, tho all are Hindus. In addition there are 160,000 Tamils who are engaged in other activities on the island. Many of these people were originally plantation workers. The 380,000 descendants of the Arab traders of past centuries are called Moors and are still predominantly merchants. They, and the 18,000 Malays, have maintained their Mohammadan religion. A few thousand Afghans, notorious money lenders, are strikingly evident as they swagger the village streets in their distinctive dress. The European element has always been small in total numbers and was estimated at 10,000 persons in 1941. Descendants of a mixture of the Dutch and Sinhalese are the 30,000 Burghers who hold down minor white-collar positions, many of them are Christian. The lack of ethnic unity, exemplified by these different groups, has been one of the stumbling blocks in Ceylon's progress toward a democratic government.

The physical environment and the manner of settlement ac-

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London, 1933) is noteworthy not only for its account of the control by the East India Company and the Crown but for his chapters on the relationship between the plantation economy and the political control. He has published a number of articles on Ceylon; two of recent date are: "Ceylon," *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. XI, No. 21, October 19, 1942, pages 218-221, and "Government and Social Services in Ceylon," *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. XII, No. 17, August 25, 1943, pages 171-174, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.

counts for the contrasting densities of population on the island. Most of the people are living in the southwestern part of the island. The northern plain, which some two thousand years ago was the most densely populated area is now one of the least inhabited sections. Some of the intensely utilized portions of the Jaffna peninsula have densities of more than 4000 persons on each square mile. The map shows the densities as of 1931 for the provinces of Ceylon, but it is only a general view of the extreme diversity of crowding and absence of people in the island. There have been shifts in the population centers thruout the last few decades and as the pressure of the people on the land augments, only small outlets are provided in the colonization schemes on the northern plain.

## AGRICULTURE IN CEYLON

This population pressure is serious because most of the people are dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood. Tho most of the island is forested, only a small fraction of the people are engaged in forestry. The tropical rainforest has such a diverse group of species that commercial timber is difficult to find and cut. The demands for construction material and fuel give rise to some seasonal cutting by the farmers. However, the lush vegetation is more of a deterrent to man than an aid. For the land must be cleared of forests before man can gain a living from it. There are three distinct types of agriculture in Cylon: the Sinhalese and Tamil farms and the European-fostered plantations. These have developed upon different types of land and under varying historical and economic impetus. Their interplay with each

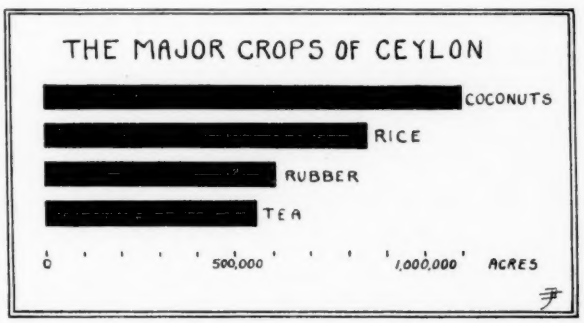


Fig. 2. Major Crops of Ceylon. The graph has been derived from official data assembled by Ladejinsky (*op. cit.*). According to yearbook figures for 1943 of the 16,212,400 acres in Ceylon, 3,647,300 acres (or 21.5%) were cultivated land and 456,000 acres (or 2.8%) were in pasture land. Of the cultivated area according to these figures, 1,238,000 acres were in coconut, 850,000 in rice, 637,739 in rubber and 549,571 acres in tea.

other and with the world's markets profoundly affects the stability or instability of the island's economy.[4]

**Sinhalese Farming.** Sinhalese, operating on a small self-sufficient scale, make up the bulk of the population of the island. They lead a simple life in the tropical surroundings.[5] These farmers have two basic crops: rice and coconuts. The rice furnishes their staple food, the palm furnishes some food, many household articles and a cash crop. Most of the holdings are small, two or three acres divided into many plots varying in size from a half an acre to ten square feet. The farmer often rents some of his land from the village landlord or has his fields mortgaged to the ubiquitous money lender. Rice is grown in water-covered paddy fields. However, of the 810,426 acres of rice land in Ceylon in 1938 only 170,426 acres were watered by large scale irrigation works; 370,000 acres were watered by minor village tanks and stream diversion canals; and 270,000 acres were dependent solely upon direct rainfall for their water. Rice acreage expanded in the war years under the "Grow More Food" campaign, and acreage in 1944 was estimated at 869,000 acres. Further expansion is increasingly difficult unless some gigantic irrigation works are constructed on the northern plain. There are two major varieties of rice, one grown in the fall and winter and the other in the spring and summer; their use varies with the rainy seasons in the different regions of Ceylon. In part because transplanting is not usually practiced and fertilizers are rarely applied to the fields, yields are low. The poor transportation system, the high degree of tenancy, and the competition of other products are additional factors which keep production down. Much of the rice is consumed by the farmer and his family. There is not a large surplus for the plantation and other workers on the island and thus Ceylon in normal times imports cheaper rice from India and Burma.

Coconut palms actually occupy a greater proportion of the cultivated land than rice.[6] In 1944 the area under coconut for the island

[4] W. I. Ladejinsky has prepared an excellent summary: "Agriculture in Ceylon," *Foreign Agriculture,* Volume 8, Number 1, January, 1944, pages 3-20, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture, Washington. He has drawn from many sources including articles in *Tropical Agriculture,* the publication of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Peradeniya, Ceylon.

[5] An engaging account of a boy's life in a Sinhalese village is Vijaya-Tunga's *Grass for My Feet,* Colombo, 1935.

[6] For a description of the coconut trees and their place in Sinhalese village life

as a whole was estimated at 1,100,000 acres. Most of this acreage is on the low plains along the sea coast. There are some extensive plantations, particularly in the north, but most of the acreage is in small holdings. Many of the Sinhalese rice farmers have a few trees around their homes, so that estimates of acreage vary. In the more densely settled southwestern districts coconut palms are grown to provide the raw material for the liquors: toddy and arrack. The farmers use the coir fibre for ropes and matting and the leaves for thatch. Some of the coconut meat is used for food and pressed for oil, used for cooking. Much of the dried meat and oil is sold for export abroad.

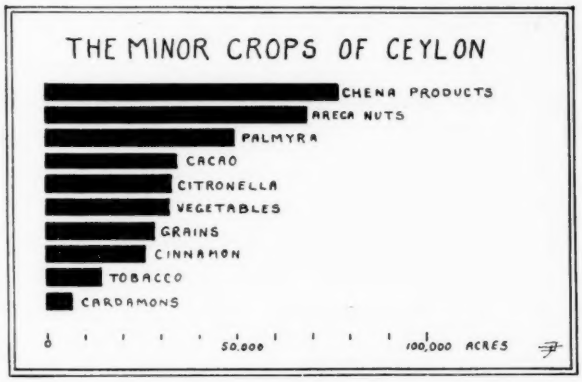


Fig. 3. Minor Crops in Ceylon. This chart also derived from data assembled by Ladejinsky (*op. cit.*) is at one-tenth the scale of Fig. 2, The Major Crops of Ceylon.

The Sinhalese farmers cultivate vegetable plots and fruit trees of many varieties around their homes. From these they derive other elements for their daily diet. Poorly-fed cattle and water buffaloes are used in their fields and as draft animals. Along the coastal areas and in some of the lagoons and streams the farmers carry on fishing as a part-time occupation. In addition full-time fishermen in some of the coastal districts, especially near Colombo, carry on fishing on the shallow banks. The fish are usually marketed on the same day they are caught, because of the fast spoilage that takes place in the tropical climate.

**Tamil Farming.** Quite different from the Sinhalese farmers, but equally operating on a self-sufficient basis, are the Tamil farmers living on the Jaffna peninsula. The patches where the unweathered limestone rocks emerge are very unproductive. Sand dunes along the coast are similarly useless, except as sites for fishing villages. Therefore, less than a third of the peninsula, covered with grey

read Ernest Young's article, "Coconuts from Ceylon," JOURNAL OF GEOGRAPHY, Volume XXXIII (1934), Number 1, page 29.

or red soil, is useful for agriculture. This is intensively tilled by the 700,000 Tamils, whose forefathers migrated from southern India to this inhospitable region.

The farm families cultivate an average of only one-quarter of an acre. Grey soils, derived from weathered limestone are the more common soil. They must be well fertilized by leaf mold and farmyard manures. The animals used on the land are kept in pens which are moved from place to place in the fields and nothing is wasted by the industrious farmers. The major food crop is, of course, rice. The low annual rainfall, 25 to 50 inches a year and coming mostly in November, December and January, must be supplemented by water from wells dug into the porous limestone. In addition to rice, vegetable crops, chillies and brinjals, are grown. Red soils, the other type of soil, tho also derived from the limestone are not so leached and are well adapted to the cultivation of different types of tobacco, the major commercial crop. This crop is grown in rotation with vegetables and fruit crops in a highly complicated system that also requires intensive fertilization. The Tamil farmers in this hardy environment thus differ decidedly from the more easy going and blessed Sinhalese of the south.

**Plantation Agriculture.** Equally in contrast to the two types of native farming on Ceylon is the plantation agriculture, carried on for the most part in the hilly region. These plantations were started by Europeans, but are now being managed by an increasing number of Sinhalese. Whereas the native farmers till small plots and have only a limited market for the crops produced in excess to their simple needs, the plantations are extensive, have considerable capital invested in them and are producing goods for a fluctuating world market. The sequence of plantation crops reveals the effect of economic controls and changing markets on an island where there are different physical bases. Cinnamon, the product of Portugese and Dutch days, was replaced in the middle of the 19th century as the leading commercial crop, by coffee. After a boom in acreage and production the coffee trees were attacked by a blight and the industry collapsed in the 1870's. Then cinchona had a brief heyday, but tea which became established at the turn of the century is today the major plantation crop, tho during the war rubber was of much greater strategic value.

The tea estates are located in the hill regions, covering 556,000 acres. Their production in 1942 was 285,000,000 pounds and was

almost entirely exported. The laborers for the plantations have been imported, 650,000 Tamils from southern India. Thus the tea industry seems exotic to the island of Ceylon. This impression of strangeness is further strengthened by the views of the tea bushes planted in rows on the cleared forest lands and of the modern plantation buildings, some of them two and three stories high, clinging to the hill slopes. Ceylon tea is used as a blend with the cheaper Indian teas and particularly since 1933, when an international regulation plan was put into operation, acreage and production have been allotted from London.[7] The future of the industry in Ceylon depends largely on the quotas granted to the island's plantations and to the world prices for the tea rather than on the activities of the inhabitants of Ceylon.

Rubber, occupying 604,000 acres in Ceylon in 1938, is similarly dependent upon activities in other parts of the world. Tho a relatively minor factor before the war, with the seizure of southeast Asia by the Japanese, Ceylon's rubber assumed a vital role in the Allied economy during the war. Some of the older trees were bled to death and the plantations were exploited to their utmost. In the future Ceylon's industry, never in a strong competitive position, may lose out in the looming struggle between synthetic and natural rubber production for the world's markets.

## OTHER HUMAN ACTIVITIES IN CEYLON

Tho much of Ceylon's agriculture has been on a self-sufficient basis this is changing and the farmers are growing some commercial crops such as coconuts, tobacco and rubber to provide funds for the purchase of non-farm items. Articles such as cheap cotton cloth and household utensils are sold by merchants whose shops border the market places of the villages. The native farmer's wants are simple, but the plantation worker must get the bulk of his food and all his other needs from outside the plantation. Thus there is the necessity of other human activities to supply these needs.

**Manufacturing.** Many of these needed products must come from outside Ceylon, for manufacturing is not well developed in the island.[8] Some twenty-five small establishments produce matches,

[7] V. D. Wickizer in his authoritative account of *Tea Under International Regulation* (Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California, 1944) considers Ceylon along with the other commercial tea producing areas and traces the effect of this international regulation scheme on past and future production.

[8] Charles K. Mosher gives a general account of the island's economy, including a

leather, paper, chinaware, shoes, hats and glassware. Scrap tin and steel are reprocessed into household wares or used with plywood for tea boxes. The bulk of the textiles, coal, iron and steel products and cement, as well as the foodstuffs for the estates—rice and sugar—must be imported. Nearby India has been supplanting England as the source for some of these imported goods in recent years. One could find in the shops of Ceylon even as late as 1944 a large variety of cheap Japanese products, still on hand from pre-war stocks.

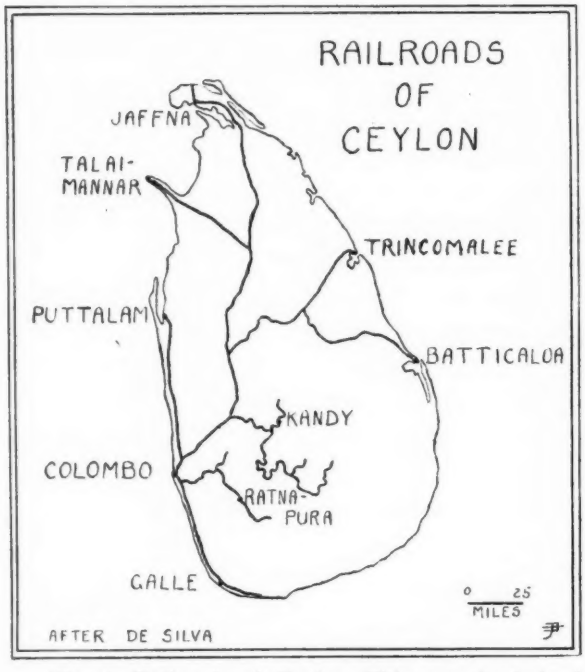


Fig. 4. Railroads of Ceylon. This map is derived from S. J. DeSilva (*op. cit.*). It only generalizes the tortuous routes the rail lines follow as they go up and into the hill country in the southwestern part of the island.

**Transportation.** The development of coffee and other plantations went hand in hand with the building of roads and railroads. Without these means of transportation the plantation agriculture would have been impossible. As shown on the map the 951 mile web of Government-operated railroads centers on Colombo, tapping the hill regions and the nearby coastal districts. The major trunk line extends the length of the island to the Jaffna peninsula. Side lines go to the ports and naval bases on the east coast, Batticolao and Trincomalee. Another line branches to Talaimannar, where a rail road ferry connects Ceylon with India. A canal parallels the coast north

paragraph on manufacturing, in an article, "Ceylon, British Crown Colony," *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, Volume VIII, Number 2, July 11, 1942, pages 3-7, 37-38. A summary of developments in 1944 is "Ceylon, Economic Conditions," *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, Volume XIX, Number 10, June 2, 1945, pages 20-23, Department of Commerce, Washington.

of Colombo to Puttalam and the major rivers are navigable in their lower courses. The 16,000 mile system of roads, a third of which are surfaced, is mainly in the southwestern plain and extends into the hill region. Roads and trails are the only means of communication in the isolated and backward southeastern part of the island.

**Minerals.** Ceylon is poorly endowed with mineral resources. Those that are exploited are of little concern to the agricultural economy of the island. The major commercial mineral is high-grade crystalline graphite or plumbago.[9] For the most part this is mined from hundreds of hand-dug, shallow pits scattered in the southwestern part of the island. There are extensive reserves which could be tapped by elaborate mining operations. The competition from Madagascar and other countries producing low-grade ores has caused fluctuations in production. During the recent pre-war and early war years there was a considerable expansion because of the demands for crucibles and other war industrial uses. 1941 production was 27,832 tons. However, in 1944, as prices declined with demand falling off, many of the smaller workings were abandoned and production declined.

Quite a different type of resource, tho equally exotic to the island's economy, are the gem stones. From ancient times Ceylon has been a famed source of rubies, sapphires and other precious stones. These are dug and washed from alluvial deposits, particularly in the Ratnapura area, by Sinhalese.[10] However, the gem cutting and trade is in the hands of Moors. The gem stones are derived from the complex rocks of the island. Surveys of these rocks and the alluvial material derived from them by Dr. D. N. Wadia, the Government Mineralogist, during the war revealed that they contain many rare earth minerals which might become of economic importance. The survey shows, for example, that uranium may be discovered in Ceylon.[11]

[9] D. N. Wadia in a "Brief Account of the Mineralogy of the Graphite Deposits of Ceylon . . .," Records of Department of Mineralogy, Professional Paper No. 1, Colombo, 1943, discusses the geology and occurrence of the deposits. When I was in Ceylon he showed me some fine specimens and manuscript maps.

[10] F. D. Adams gave an interesting account of these diggings in his article, "A Visit to the Gem Districts," Smithsonian Institute Annual Report, 1926, pages 297-318, Washington.

[11] D. N. Wadia, "Rare Earth Minerals of Ceylon," Records of Department of Mineralogy, Professional Paper No. 1, pages 3-14, Colombo, 1943.

Another exploitation of a precious resource, tho not a mineral, is the pearl fishing on the banks between Ceylon and India. Productivity varies greatly from year to year. The oyster beds were held as a government monopoly for many decades and now the government derives a royalty from the finds in the shells. Competition from artificially grown pearl oysters has caused a sharp curtailment in the industry in recent years.

## Conclusion

Despite the forest, mineral and coastal resources it is likely that Ceylon will always remain predominantly an agricultural land. The export-crop agriculture on the plantations and the small-scale native farms are coming into sharper competition as the Sinhalese turn to more commercial agriculture. With the increasing pressure of population on the land, irrigation agriculture is being increased in the dry zone on the northern plain. This requires some well-developed irrigation works, diverting and holding the water from the rain-laden streams of the hill regions. It also requires better transportation facilities and marketing organizations. Sinhalese have hesitated in moving into this area where malaria is so common.

Under the liberal British Empire policy of the last decade Ceylon is progressing toward self-government. A new constitution is going into effect at the present time.[12] It may well be that a more democratic government, responsible directly to the bulk of the people on the island, will develop the northern plain lands at a faster rate than has been done in the past when Ceylon's government was dominated by the plantation operators. One of the possible handicaps to progress will be friction between the different population groups. The cultural and religious differences among the people are accentuated by the varying geographic conditions under which they live.

The strategic position of the island will continue to affect its economy. The natural harbor of Trincomalee, from the days of the Dutch an important naval base, was developed during the war to a very modern fleet and B-29 base. The commercial harbor of Co-

[12] Numerous articles have been published on this development. (1) A brief, recent account is that of Josiah Crosby, "The Constitutional Position in Ceylon," *Pacific Affairs,* Volume XIX, Number 3, September, 1946, pages 272-279, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. (2) Another article is that of W. Ivor Jennings, "Ceylon: Inconsequential Island," *International Affairs,* Volume XXII, Number 3, July, 1946, pages 376-388, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Toronto, Canada.

lombo and the large airfields developed nearby will continue to be important stopping points on the world trade routes. With all these changes it is hoped that Ceylon will continue to be, as Marco Polo said "for its size the finest island in the world."

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## SOME CLIMATIC EXTREMES IN THE UNITED STATES

STEPHEN S. VISHER*
Indiana University

As extremes of temperature and precipitation are of interest to many, even young students, and as they afford a sort of summary of some significant aspects of the climate, the following are presented, culled from official records.

An official shade temperature of 134° has been recorded in Death Valley, California, and 120° in nine other states, and 109° or higher in every other state except New York and New England. Conversely, at fairly moderate elevations, —68° has been recorded in Montana, —66° in Wyoming, —60° in two other states, and —50° in 12 additional states. Considerable northern areas, in addition to mountain tops, have had killing frosts every month in the year, while some southern areas seldom have a frost. Likewise while much of the country is hotter during the summer than are most equatorial regions (where 100° is almost unknown), in winter even the South repeatedly has more severe cold than Iceland ever experiences. Indeed, of the 48 states, only South Carolina (—13°) and Florida (—2°) lack records of —16° or colder.

Altho the average annual precipitation in the United States is about 29 inches, more than half of the country receives less than 15 inches. The driest state (Nevada) has an average of less than 9 inches, and several stations in the Southwest have averages of less than 5 inches. One California station has an annual average of only 1.35 inches. At the other extreme, scores of widely scattered stations have received more than 100 inches of rainfall in a year, and several have occasionally received more than 150 inches. One Washington station has an annual average of 150.7 inches, and

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received 184.5 inches in one year. In a single month, several western stations have received more than 60 inches, one of them 71.5, and 16 others over 50 inches. In a single 24 hours, more than 30 widely distributed stations have received more than 15 inches of rainfall, and 12 station in six states, have received more than 20 inches. The record of 23.2 inches in 24 hours, long held by Florida, was broken in 1943 by a California record of 25.8 inches, with two nearby stations receiving about 24 inches.

As to snowfall, while it generally is light or almost lacking in the South and in southwestern California, 884 and 814 inches have been officially measured as having fallen in a season in the mountains of California and Oregon and 789 inches in Washington. In a month, more than 200 inches has been received repeatedly at several western mountain stations. In shorter periods, some records are: 60 inches in one day at one mountain station in California, 42 inches in 2 days in New York, 54 inches in 3 days in Oregon, and 96 inches in 4 days in Maine.

# THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AT WORK

The reorganization of the National Council under the new Constitution signifies at once a renewal of our faith in the educational objectives outlined by the founders of the Council as well as a realization of the need of readjusting its management to the new educational challenges of the UN world.

The Executive Board has resolved to publish the Constitution so that each member may become familiar with it, particularly with those provisions which are designed to expedite the activities necessary to carry out the aims of the organization.

But as we know only too well, constitutions and management and resolutions, however well ordered, do not in themselves guarantee achievements; neither do long membership lists and inspiring national and state meetings, however desirable in themselves, guarantee such. What is needed above all is an aggressive and responsive membership alert thruout the year to the problems and potentialities of the organization. To mention only a few:

1. Geography has often been called a "core-subject," unique in its space integration of facts of both the natural and the social sciences. Then, why are the facts and concepts of geography so poorly represented or completely ignored in the so-called Survey, Orientation, or General Education programs, developed today mostly on the Junior College level? At a recent regional conference of the North Central Association I was amazed to observe that none of the university programs there exhibited mentioned geography as a proposed part of either the "mosaic" or "integrated" type of such a program. You are doubtless aware of the much publicized General Education programs of Yale and Harvard. The former ignores geography completely; the latter mentions it only very incidentally.

2. Another academic development: the growing number of prescribed or recommended pre-professional curricula exhibiting little or no regard for the relevance of geography in such special training programs. Why should not some geography be included, for example, among the 60 or 90 semester hours of prescribed courses in pre-professional curricula in forestry, journalism, law, social service, etc.

3. College offerings in professional courses for the preparation of teachers on both the elementary and secondary levels constitute a universally accepted practice—except in geography. The recent NCGT "Standards" survey reveals that only 66 out of 653 representative institutions offered a course in the Teaching of Geography for the Secondary School. In six contiguous states not a single institution reported such offering.

4. Every geographer will maintain that geographic training is a most valuable asset for business. Yet does the business world recognize this fact? Over a hundred stores, mail order houses, airlines, and utilities were asked to analyze their employee needs for 1947. None asked for a geographically trained student. Can we find a satisfactory answer to the perennial question by the enthusiastic and enterprising geography major who wants to know how he can step into a geography position other than teaching?

5. All community planning programs are basically grounded in environmental surveys and space relationship studies of physical and cultural phenomena. Tho this is the very essence of geography, both theoretical and applied, geographers, with but few outstanding exceptions, have played a disproportionately minor role in this field.

6. And as to our own organization: According to the latest report, thirty-six states have no active official state councils! These include states of the highest academic education ratings in the country. Is this a purely "historic" or "geographic" accident? Consult new constitution for associated and affiliated societies.

The above problems are only a few which our Council may well consider. How may we best attack these problems and thus promote the professionalization of our field?

ALFRED H. MEYER, *President*

# EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

Staff and equipment of Greenwich Observatory are being moved to Hurstmonceux Castle, forty-five miles southeast of the present site of the observatory. The new site is in the country, and therefore much better adapted to observations than the present site which is badly hampered by fog, smoke, and night lights, and disturbances that hinder time keeping The move does not change the location of the zero meridian which remains where it is as the standard for measuring longitude and time. Time calculated at Hurstmonceux will be corrected to allow for its difference of one-third degree in longitude from that at Greenwich. Accuracy of the recently installed quartz clocks is within one-thousandth of a second in twenty-four hours. Our acceptance of the Greenwich meridian as the standard zero meridian dates back to the Washington Meridian Conference of 1884.

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The Mexican Tourist Association is keenly aware of the attractions Mexico has to offer tourists whether it be in the form of scenic beauty of its varied landscapes, its diversified climates, its handicrafts, its archaeology, its customs, its architectures, and historical lores. To this end, hotel men are reported to be investing 15 million dollars in 11 new hotels in Mexico City and at least 30 more are being completed in such centers as Guadalajara, Acapulco, Jalapa, Torreon, San Mignel Allende, Uruapan, San Louis Potosi, and Querétaro. Maybe your students would like to find out what each of these places has to offer a tourist. They may also care to learn the pronunciation of each place name.

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The Army Map Service is offering during 1947 an opportunity for limited employment to qualified graduate students in the field of map research. The objective of the offer is threefold: first, to complete essential work now in progress at the Map Service; second, to stimulate interest in the field of cartography at the professional level; and finally, to provide a reservoir of trained personnel which will be available in time of need.

The appointments are under Civil Service and carry an SP-4 rating for a period of one year. The following indicate the nature of some of the problems on which research will be done in 1947: (a) a critique on Japanese Military Mapping and (b) a monograph on the history of map authorities. All research is to be completed in suitable form for publication, and should be of a quality to meet satisfactorily the requirements for a master's thesis. Applicants will have an unique opportunity for research of practical value with facilities not available in educational institutions.

The Association of American Geographers has established a committee for liaison with the Army Map Service which will recommend suitable applicants. Application blanks and any questions concerning the appointments should be addressed to the Committee for Liaison with Army Map Service (AAG) at the Department of Geography, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

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In view of the paucity of postwar population data for postwar de facto areas, geographers will be interested in a State Department unclassified project entitled "World Population Estimates" OIR Project No. 4192 which lists the December 31, 1936, 1945, 1946, 1950, and 1955 populations for every country in the world (December 1946 areas). It can be obtained by writing Lucille Eiring, ICD; Room 626, War Annex 1; Department of State; Washington 25, D.C.

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